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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 50



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORTS ON DISSENSION IN IRAN OVER HOSTAGES

HK280923 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Dec 79 p 6 HK

[Report: "Differences of Opinion Within Iran Are Stalling Decision on Hostage Question"]

[Text] All sorts of information from Iran have indicated that there are diverse opinions within Iran on whether to release or continue holding the American hostages.

According to a UPI report from Tehran on 22 December, the TEHRAN TIMES quoted a "high-ranking member" of the Iranian Revolutionary Council as saying that Iran would soon announce a comprehensive plan for settling the hostage question. The newspaper revealed that this plan "would offer a trace of hope" that some of the hostages may be released soon.

Meanwhile, certain diplomats in Tehran maintained that "this crisis will probably drag on" because Khomeyni and the radical students still insist on their demand for the extradition of the ex-shah Pahlavi.

An AP report noted that a Tehran religious leader Ayatollah Montazari reiterated on 22 December that Iran would put the American hostages on trial, but the new Iranian Foreign Minister Qotbzadeh told foreign reporters that the Iranian Revolutionary Council had never discussed the question of trying the hostages. A report in the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN from its reporter in Tehran also said that there were "internal differences" in the Iranian Revolutionary Council on the question of the American hostages.

On the other hand, the stand taken by the Iranian students is also quite different from that held by certain Iranian officials. A prominent figure in Iran's Islamic revolutionary tribunal Ayatollah Khalkhali said on 21 December that the American hostages being held in Tehran were "innocent." He expressed the hope that they would be allowed to go home. However, the Iranian students occupying the American Embassy have rejected his appeal.

The students are still maintaining their stand of "trying the hostages on spy charges."

The report went on to say that the students "have repeatedly shown their disrespect for the revolutionary council, which in theory is the ruling body," and have become the "major political force" in Iran only below Khomeyni himself in importance. Perhaps because of the state of confusion in Iran in which each political force goes its own way, there is so far no solution in sight for the question of the American hostages.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES NOVEL ON KOREA WAR

HK190909 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Dec 79 p 3 HK

[Article by Lu Guishan [7120 6311 1472]: "Commentary on the Full-Length Novel 'Yesterday's War'"]

[Text] The war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea was a great event which shook the whole world during the 1950's. The full-length novel "Yesterday's War" (written by Meng Weizai and published by the People's Literature Publishing House) figuratively reveals the new historical features of this modern war and shows the great vitality and all-conquering might of the liberated Chinese people. It makes its readers deeply feel that no hardship and danger can stop the vigorous strides of the heroic Chinese people.

With its brief outline and detailed description, "Yesterday's War" opens up before our eyes the grand scenes of this modern war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. The novel artistically works out its plot around the enemy's efforts to accomplish its "plan to land amphibious units on the narrowest part of Korea" and our efforts to smash this plan. With detailed narration in depth and breadth and with the integration of time and space, it tries to show the grand and forceful appearance of this war.

The novel unfolds its artistic description around two plots. The first plot centers on the U.S. 8th Army and an army of the Chinese volunteers and directly depicts the struggle between the two hostile headquarters. On the enemy side, its description goes from the White House and the nucleus of aggression in the Pentagon down to Commander Clark of the Far East strategic area, Commander Van Fleet of the U.S. 8th Army and Taylor. On our side, it tells about the supreme command at Zhongnanhai, the commander in chief of the volunteers--Comrade Peng Dehuai, the commanders of various army corps as well as the commanding officers at the army level. This method of description broadens the readers' horizon and enables them to get a complete picture of the war. The second plot centers on the activities of Zhou Tianlei's unit in the enemy's rear area. Part one is about how Zhou Tianlei's unit risks great dangers to capture Washington's secret envoy Johnson and escort him back to our rear area. Part two is about how

Zhou Tianlei's unit takes drastic measures to search for and destroy the enemy's "fodder storage ground"--the arsenal. Through the two operations of this small unit, the novel brings the readers back to the actual scene and enables them to extensively experience and observe the evil world which stinks of money and blood under the rule of the U.S.-Syngman Rhee aggressor group. It makes a conscious effort to organically weave, ink up, blend and twist together the two artistic plots mentioned above, thus forming a grand and close-knit artistic structure with a prominent main theme and the simultaneous unfurling of numerous other episodes with great ease. From these episodes and plots, the readers can see the grand scene of this modern war--from air, naval and ground actions to underground activities. There are descriptions about the front and the rear and what goes on behind the enemy lines; offensives and defensives; talks and fighting; the flank and the profile; the interior and exterior lines; guerrilla and conventional warfare; large troop formations and small units; the army men and people and so on. Together, they intertwine into a grand picture of war.

"Yesterday's War" vividly portrays a vast number of characters, from the high-ranking officials on both sides to the ordinary fighters and people.

Zhou Tianlei, the protagonist of the novel, is the image of a young commander who has matured through practice and can adapt himself to the needs of modern warfare. He is also the image of a successor who can carry forward the cause pioneered by our army's senior commanding officers and forge ahead into the future. The author hopes to convey a profound message to us through the portrayal of this new image. He wants to tell us that people of the new generation must take over and pass on the torch lit by revolutionaries and strategists of the older generation; they must also study and explore the new developments in the law and means of war to keep abreast of the new situation in modern warfare.

Zhou Tianlei sparks with the flames of youth and brims with youthful vitality. He is modest and eager to learn, sharp-witted and good at assimilating new things and studying new problems. He is strong in will, orward in character and vigorous in work style. He diligently works for his cause and demonstrates a firm and indomitable revolutionary spirit. When he saw the national flag of the Korean Democratic People's Republic fluttering on the snow-capped Moranbong peak while serving as a security guard at the state-founding ceremony, he recalled the hoisting of the first five-star red flag in Tiananmen Square and came to deeply understand the meaning of "hoisting the flag" and "defending the flag." Thus, he closely integrated the cause of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea with that of protecting our homes and defending our country and merged internationalism with patriotism. It is precisely this profound proletarian feeling that enables Zhou Tianlei to brave untold dangers, fight hard and bloody battles and demonstrate his lofty spirit.

[HK190931] Zhou Tianlei possesses the fundamental conditions to be a successor of senior commanders in our army. Therefore, the commander of the corps and other leaders of armies and divisions teach him by personal example and instructions and purposely put him in the vast stage of military struggle so that he will enhance his ability to master the war amid rigorous trials, tempering and training. In addition, the author tries by every means to display Zhou Tianlei's heroic characters and ideology in the storms and flames of military struggle. In the daily life of the army, Zhou Tianlei is emphatically portrayed as an honest and simple member of the rank-and-file. While getting in touch with the masses, he displays his class nature and his kindred class feelings with the people. In the battle, he plays a vanguard role in charging at the head of his soldiers. While commanding a joint battle of the navy, ground and air forces, his all-powerful manner as a commander is fully displayed. While trying Johnson, a secret envoy from Washington, and explaining the enemy's situation, he is bright, capable, experienced and quick. He dares and is good at expressing his own views. This is Zhou Tianlei's open and forthright style. In particular, his courage and capability to meet an emergency are effectively depicted when he and his comrades-in-arms are penetrating into the enemy's rear area. He is bold and careful and betrays no fear and remains unruffled in times of danger. In such a way, a romantic flavor is added to the image of Zhou Tianlei. Socialist literature should create various types of heroic figures. These figures may be heroes in the making or relatively perfect models. Zhou Tianlei belongs to the latter type, but he is not described as a too idealized figure. For instance, although he wins in the battle of Xianglin mountain, he fails to grasp the main point of his work: When the group headed by Sun Jiawang and Jin Yingshu lose contact with the command post, he is worried and unhappy and when Qin Hude dies, he is angry and disappointed.... However, some defects can still be found in the creation of the image of Zhou Tianlei. It is good to display the characters of heroic figures from various aspects. However, because the author puts equal emphasis on all of Zhou Tianlei's characteristics, his main characteristics and ideas have not been fully and distinctively brought forth. It is good to penetratingly depict the figures at the peak of contradictions. However, sometimes the contradictions are handled in a hurried way. Therefore, certain heroic acts of Zhou Tianlei lack a solid basis. Readers might more or less feel that he is able to win success easily.

While painstakingly creating the heroic image of Zhou Tianlei, the author also creates a number of heroic figures such as Guaiwa, Qin Hude, Jin Shuying, Li Bingzhu and so forth. Their images and characters are vivid and distinctive. Their heroic deeds move the readers to songs and tears and leave a deep impression on them.

The images of a number of enemy's generals and commanders are also created in "Yesterday's War." The author tries to expose the ugly inner world of these warmongers by integrating their personal desires with the fate of their class and clique and by combining the description of their conduct with the description of their psychology.

Taylor joins the Korean war with wild ambition and aspiration in compliance with Eisenhower's order. The personal future of Taylor, that is, his promotion and demotion, honor and disgrace, as well as his rise and fall are closely connected with the fate of the U.S. aggressive clique. He serves his own class and group. In addition, he also vies for his own honors, medals and power. With his sense of smell as keen as an army dog, this cunning, experienced and astute figure realizes that the main combat goal of our army is to wipe out the enemy's effective strength. He just refuses to put "meat" into the "mincing machines" of our army. The author not only describes Taylor's arrogance, but also penetrates into his inner world to disclose his close-locked secret through the description of his "exchange of confidences" with his wife. While taking a walk in the garden of his Washington residence Taylor tells his wife of his desire for honors, official rank, money and power. He dreams that financial magnates will someday cast a favorable eye on him because of his splendid combat success. He dreams of following "Ike path"--"a path from a general to president." This "exchange of confidences" thoroughly exposes his feverish political ambition. In Taylor's office, the uniforms of generals are displayed on one side and various weapons are displayed at the other. It is like a totem pole piously worshipped by the ancients. This also distinctively reflects Taylor's peculiar spirit and will and his wild ambition as a warmonger.

[HK190953] "Yesterday's War" is quite remarkable for its artistic features.

The work depicts the hardships of war but presents the episodes with poetic feelings and philosophical reasoning, inspiring the readers to think hard about political issues and their implications and giving them esthetic enjoyment. The writer describes Korea's beautiful land with feeling and effectively portrays the fine arts palace, the treasure trove and the cave filled with overhanging stalactites. Under his pen, Korea's every tree, mountain and river as well as heroic figures of the land have become esthetically appealing. The writer's appreciation of Korea's natural wonders and his moving description of the pleasantly smelling grass on Lomu mountain and the crystal-clear ice of the Dadong river glistening under the sunshine are particularly effective. However, his work is remarkable for portraying the heroic people and the heroes among them. In depicting the episode in which Li Bingzhu and his family are about to contact the detachment commanded by Zhou Tianlei, the writer touches on Li Daniang's mixed feelings of concern, love, uneasiness and anxiety with deft skill before she meets the people's soldiers braving the rigors of the elements. The result is a moving description of revolutionary sentiment!

The work is likewise effective in fusing poetic touches with philosophical reasoning. This is achieved by extracting philosophical truth from life and from the poetic inclination of heroes and by endowing life's philosophy with poetic sentiment. The martyrdom of Li Guaiwa and Qin Fude is moving as a poem containing life's profound philosophical truths. Li Guaiwa dies

in peace after listening to a message from her elder sister. Her death which is depicted without exaggeration moves one to tears. While Qin Fude is normally reticent and composed like a pool of placid water, he explodes angrily when he faces severe trials. His bitter hatred for the enemy then burns him to death with the fierce flame symbolizing Qin's life. "Yesterday's War" contains many profound and thought-provoking discussions and achieves a unique style by combining narrative with lyrical approaches. However, some chapters are rather long-winded in their discussions and appear boring to the average reader.

The work is also effective in toning down overstated descriptive passages and combines emotion-filled scenes with subtly imaginative touches. When the enemy discovers the location of the radio transmitter concealed in the cave and operated by the Sun Guawang group, enemy bombers keep blasting at the cave and turn the entrance into a sea of flames. The writer appropriately depicts the trials of the heroes as they grope their way from one end of the cave to the other, suffering scorching heat and suffocating smoke. He then describes how Jin Yingxu, a woman fighter, faces the trials of life and death with composure. Combing her hair, raising her head and expanding her chest, she displays the unflinching feeling of meeting impending martyrdom. This episode is set off to advantage by remarkably imaginative scenes and unsettling and stormy sketches aimed at depicting the enemy's ferocity and praising the heroic fighters' unyielding stand and defiant spirit.

With "Yesterday's War" as its title, the book-length novel embodies philosophical truths. While the resolute-America-and-aid-Korea war is a thing of the past, the danger of war still exists. We must raise our revolutionary vigilance and refrain from lulling ourselves into a false sense of peacetime security. Instead, we should constantly prepare ourselves to use revolutionary weapons to hit back at the enemy's surprise attacks. In the new long march, we should unite as one, display the spirit of dedication and heroic mettle of the war years and achieve the grand goal of realizing the four modernizations.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRAZILIAN PLAY ON SLAVERY REVIVED IN BEIJING

OW281544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 28 Dec 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, December 28 (XINHUA)--"Aesop" by the Brazilian playwright Guillermo Figueredo was revived this evening in Beijing after an 18-year lapse.

Three casts of the Beijing people's art theatre will be presenting the play during the new year holiday.

In a message sent to Guillermo Figueredo a few days ago, the 49-year-old director Chen Rong and the art theatre expressed the hope that the re-staging would "be a contribution to strengthening the friendship between the peoples of China and Brazil."

The playwright saw the original Beijing presentation in 1959.

The director did the Chinese version from a Russian translation of the original Portuguese.

Aesop, the Greek slave Fabulist, is played by 54-year-old Lu Qi who played the same part in the original Beijing run.

The play describes the conflict between Aesop and his master, the slave-owner. It also deals with the different ways in which slaves recognized their condition and how they tried to deal with it. Aesop was brave in his fight for freedom.

The original highly successful staging went on tour to Shanghai, Hangzhou and other Chinese cities in 1961.

The country's leading drama company, the Beijing people's art theatre has built up a repertory of well-known Chinese and foreign plays.

Director Chen Rong told XINHUA that she hoped that restaging the play with various casts would produce a number of promising new actors.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC YOUTH PAPER LISTS MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EVENTS OF 1979

OW291016 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 29 Dec 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, December 29 (XINHUA)--Today's "China Youth News" carries its choice of ten major international news events in 1979:

One. The People's Republic of China and the United States of America established diplomatic relations on January 1.

Two. Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng visited France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy between October 15 and November 6.

Three. Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira visited China between December 5-9.

Four. China's Foreign Ministry notified the Soviet side on April 3 of the decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress not to extend the treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance between the two countries due to expire on April 11, 1980.

Five. Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fight back in self defense against Vietnamese aggressors in the Sino-Viet Nam border areas on February 17. The frontier guards all withdrew to China's territory between March 5-16.

Six. An international meeting attended by delegates from more than 50 countries on Indochinese refugees was held in Geneva from July 20 to 21. Many delegates pointed out that the Vietnamese Government should immediately stop driving out its people. The 34th U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority that Viet Nam immediately withdraw all its 200,000 troops from Kampuchea.

Seven. Iranian students occupied the U.S. Embassy in Teheran and detained U.S. Embassy members as hostages.

Eight. The Soviet Union sent large numbers of troops to Afghanistan.

Nine. Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty on March 26, putting an end to the status of war between the two sides existing for more than 30 years.

Ten. Foreign and defence ministers of the NATO member countries held a special joint meeting on December 12 and adopted a decision to deploy new intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

U.S. COLUMNISTS ON SOVIET AIMS--Washington, December 31 (XINHUA)--Pointing out that Pakistan is now "all but naked to Soviet bullying" as a result of the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan, columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak called in an article today for "a switch of policy" and "switch immediately" to "reestablish Pakistan as a strong ally "of America by providing military and economic aid to that country. The WASHINGTON POST article noted that the Soviet thrust in Afghanistan is a message to the world that after 150 years of Afghanistan's playing the role of buffer state, "Moscow has become confident enough to use its own military power to take it over." The article criticized the "detentists in the Carter administration" who "put the value of SALT 2 above Soviet power plays in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and the early stages of Afghanistan". Some officials disputed this priority, the article noted, adding that they think that the "most significant" development of 1979 was not SALT 2 but the Soviet worldwide offensive far beyond its empire of Eastern Europe. "If there is to be a belated change now, it will first be seen in Pakistan--the next soft target in Moscow's inexorable bid for world domination," the article concluded. [Text] [OW311900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 31 Dec 79 OW]

SYMPATHY MESSAGE TO COLOMBIA--Beijing, December 22 (XINHUA)--The Red Cross Society of China in a message to the Colombian Red Cross Society today expressed deep sympathy with the people stricken by the recent earthquake. It informed its Colombian counterpart that it had decided to donate 50,000 U.S. dollars as relief to those hit by the earthquake. The message says that the Chinese people hope the cash donation could help the people in the afflicted area overcome their temporary difficulties. [Text] [OW221252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 22 Dec 79 OW]

THAI REFUGEE CAMP VISIT--Bangkok, December 20 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Red Cross working group responsible for accepting Indochinese refugees, visited a Vietnamese refugee camp on the beach of Songkhla Province in southern Thailand from December 18 to 19. The Chinese group made an investigation into the living conditions of the refugees, expressed sympathy for their plight, and talked with those who want to reside in China. The team is working hard in an effort to transfer them to China. Since the beginning

of this year, more than 10,000 Vietnamese have arrived in this camp. Now, an increasing number of refugees are arriving in southern Thailand from Viet Nam in small boats, fleeing the brutal persecution by Vietnamese authorities at the risk of their lives. [Text] [OW201823 Beijing XINHUA in English 1622 GMT 20 Dec 79 OW]

SRV REFUGEE EXODUS CONTINUES--Beijing, December 18 (XINHUA)--A Danish ship yesterday rescued 119 Vietnamese refugees from a 30-foot wooden boat that was about to sink somewhere 160 nautical miles southeast of Ho Chi Minh City, according to an AFP report from Copenhagen yesterday. In another report from Hong Kong on December 16, AFP said a fresh invasion of Vietnamese refugees was possible following intelligence reports gathered by Western nations. Quoting intelligence sources and refugees, the report said: "Vietnamese officials and soldiers are assembling huge fleets of small boats in ports up and down the Vietnamese coasts. Sources said well over 100 small boats are moored in a special anchorage near the port of Vung Tau while another collection of small vessels is anchored in Danang," the report said. "These boats are believed to be prepared by the Hanoi authorities for another exodus of ethnic Chinese." [Text] [OW181214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 18 Dec 79 OW]

SALT II, SOVIET STOCKPILING--United Nations, December 24 (XINHUA)--"SALT II imposes no significant restraints on the Soviet Union, since it deals only with deployed launchers, not with the manufacture and stockpiling of missiles and launchers, and the treaty restrictions on the improvement of existing missiles are unverifiable," stated recently Eugene V. Rostow, chairman of the Executive Committee of the committee on the present danger. In his remark before the annual dinner of the board of directors of the committee, Mr. Eugene V. Rostow emphasized that "the Soviet Union is now increasing its expenditures on nuclear weapons at a rate of about eight percent a year in real terms. The Soviet Union is stockpiling missiles on a very large scale, far beyond the numerical limits of SALT," he said. He stressed the need to "give up the delusions on which the present text of the treaty is based" and "deal with the world as it is". [Text] [OW250418 Beijing XINHUA in English 0221 GMT 25 Dec 79 OW]

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA' OUTLINES SIX NEW LAWS IN CHINA

OW010852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 1 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, January 1 (XINHUA)--Following is a brief introduction to the six new laws in China which come into effect today.

"The organic law of the local people's congresses and the local people's governments" deals with the organization of the organs of power and the administrative organs at the provincial, autonomous regional, municipal, county, city and district levels.

China is divided into 29 large administrative areas including provinces, autonomous regions (populated heavily by minority nationalities) and municipalities (large cities directly under the central government). Each of the provinces and regions consists of a number of counties and cities. These are again subdivided into districts and towns.

Standing committees are established for people's congresses at and above the county level. When the congresses are not in session, the committees exercise part of their legislative power. Previously only the National People's Congress had a standing committee.

Local revolutionary committees, which were provisional organs of power created during the cultural revolution, are to be replaced by people's governments as the executive of the local people's congresses. The leading officials of a province, autonomous region, city and county are called governor, chairman, mayor and head.

"The electoral law for the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses" extends direct election by secret ballot of deputies to people's congresses from the commune to the county level. The commune is the basic unit of administrative organization, each covering a number of villages with a combined population of from one to several tens of thousands of people.

Deputies to the National People's Congress and those to the people's congress of a province, autonomous region or municipality are elected by the

people's congress at the next lower level. The number of candidates to people's congresses shall exceed the number of seats available by from 50 to 100 per cent. The old practice was nomination of as many candidates as the number of deputies to be elected.

The Communist Party and the democratic parties as well as the trade, youth, women's and other people's organizations may nominate candidates either jointly or separately. Any voter may also nominate candidates, provided the nomination is seconded by three other voters.

All elections are by secret ballot. The people have the right to supervise the deputies by examining their records or asking them to report on their work and deputies judged to have an unsatisfactory record may be recalled by voters asking the congress to take action.

All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status or length of residence.

However, those persons deprived by law of political rights, such as counter-revolutionaries and convicts, may not vote and stand for election.

Under the "Organic law of the people's courts", judicial authority is exercised by local people's courts, the Supreme People's Court and such special courts as the military, railway transport and forestry courts.

Local people's courts are divided into the following grades: Basic (covering a county or city district), intermediate (covering a prefecture which is made up of several counties) and higher (covering a province or big city).

The task of the people's courts is to try civil and criminal cases in order to safeguard the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain the socialist legal system and public order, protect state and collective property and the legitimate private property of citizens, safeguard citizens' rights and protect China's socialist revolution and construction.

The people's courts administer justice independently, subject only to the law and with due checks and balances. In judicial proceedings, the law is applied equally to all citizens. No privilege is allowed.

People's courts use the collegiate system in determining verdicts and punishment. A collegiate bench consists of a judge and people's assessors elected by the corresponding people's congresses. Judicial committees, with members appointed by the people's congresses at the corresponding levels, discuss cases of great importance or difficult cases. Any case involving the death penalty must be examined and approved by the Supreme People's Court.

"The organic law of the people's procuratorates" charges these bodies with supervising the administration of justice. They are on an equal footing with the people's courts.

[OW010854] People's procuratorates examine cases of treason, attempts to split the nation and major criminal cases involving serious violations of policies and laws. They also investigate criminal cases directly or examine cases which public security has investigated, prefer charges, supervise the application of law by people's courts, and supervise prisons, detention houses and labour reform establishments.

"The criminal law" consists of two books--general provisions and specific provisions, detailed in 192 articles in eight chapters.

Covered in the general provisions are the guiding ideology, task and scope of application of the criminal law, offences, penalties, application of penalties and other matters not included in the above-mentioned.

The specific provisions define the following eight offences: Counter-revolutionary offences, offences against public security, offences against the socialist economic order, offences against citizens' personal and democratic rights, offences of encroachment on property, offences against public order, offences against marriage and the family, and malfeasance (or official misconduct).

A counter-revolutionary offence is "any act which jeopardizes the People's Republic of China for the purpose of overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrowing the socialist system."

Penalties are classified as principal and supplementary. The principal penalties include public surveillance, detention, prison terms, life imprisonment and death. The supplementary penalties are fines, deprivation of political rights for a fixed time and confiscation of property.

An offender sentenced to death, but whose crime does not arouse insistence on immediate execution, may be given a two-year reprieve, during which he may demonstrate repentance through labour reform and good behaviour and receive a mitigated sentence of life imprisonment or a fixed prison term.

Deportation may be applied as an exclusive or supplementary penalty to a foreigner who has committed an offence.

To protect the rights of citizens, the law strictly prohibits the extortion of confessions by torture, acts of beating, smashing and looting, unlawful incarceration and persecution of any person, such as occurred frequently during the cultural revolution.

"The law of criminal procedure", written in 164 articles specifies that public security may make provisional arrests. People's procuratorates

must approve the arrests and prefer charges, and the people's courts decide the case and punishment.

No government institution, people's organization or individual other than these specified may exercise such powers. During the cultural revolution, however, such powers were often enforced by groups of people who had no authority over the administration of justice.

The law stipulates that besides exercising the right to defend himself, an accused person may entrust any of the following with his defence: Lawyers, close relatives or guardians, or citizens proposed by a people's organization or the institution in which the accused works.

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PARTY AND STATE

MISUSE OF TERM 'CLASS STRUGGLE' INVEIGHED AGAINST

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 79 p 2

[Article by Kong Qingrong [1313 1987 2827]: "Social Contradictions Do Not Equal Class Struggle"]

[Text] In studying Comrade Hua Guofeng's "government work report" presented to the Second Session of the Fifth NPC and Comrade Ye Jianying's speech at the meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the state, an extremely important question is how we should think about classes and class struggle in our country now. Everybody is comparatively unanimous in the opinion that the exploiting class, as a class, no longer exists. However, there are differing opinions about whether there is class struggle among the people. Here I want to discuss the knowledge I gained from my study.

My view is that class struggle still exists among the people, but it does not take the form of a confrontation between antagonistic classes. Comrade Mao Zedong, in his "Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees," pointed out: "In the conditions prevailing in our country, although the present class struggle partly consists of contradictions between the people and the enemy, it finds expression on a vast scale in contradictions among the people." This is an important guiding principle for us in thinking about and handling the question of class struggle at the present stage.

Comrade Mao Zedong's pointing out that the present class struggle in our country finds expression on a vast scale in contradictions among the people was aimed at the contradictions remaining between the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Owing to its dual nature, our country's national bourgeoisie belongs in the category of the people. Therefore, "the class struggle between the working class and the national bourgeoisie generally belongs to the category of class struggle among the people." What does this "generally" mean? I think it contains two ideas: The first is that we must include the very few elements in the national bourgeoisie who oppose the party and oppose socialism. These persons do not belong in the category of the people, and their contradictions with the proletariat are antagonistic contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. The second is that, under the premise of handling the question of the bourgeoisie as a question of contradictions among the people, one aspect is that our policy

toward and our handling of the bourgeoisie must be appropriate and the other aspect is that the bourgeoisie must accept socialist transformation.

Today, when we are discussing whether there is class struggle among the people, we have already gone far beyond the categorization of the national bourgeoisie. Precisely because of this, we should even more correctly think about and handle well the question of the class struggle among the people.

Our acknowledgment that class struggle exists among the people definitely is not equivalent to saying that all social contradictions are class struggle, and even less do they equal contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Social contradictions are multisided; there are those among the working class, among the peasant class, among the intellectuals, between the worker and peasant classes, and between the working class and other laboring people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other. There are also those between people inside the party and people outside the party, between the leaders and the masses, between the state and the collective, between the collective and the individual, between the advanced and the backward, etc. If we were to make all of these existing contradictions into class struggle, as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did, we would broaden the scope of class struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong, in his "On Contradictions," stated: There are differences between workers and peasants, but this will not become intensified into antagonisms or assume the form of class struggle. Class struggle is also not equivalent to contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. The only enemies of the people are those who "resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to and sabotage the social power and the social group constructed by socialism." Only with them is there a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. In real life, we frequently come across some questions in which the line of demarcation between right and wrong is easily obscured, and we should strictly distinguish this line.

We must distinguish the demarcation line between the making of mistakes and class struggle. We should make an analysis, based on seeking truth from facts, of the origin and nature of mistakes. Things like graft and embezzlement, degeneracy, serious breaking of the law and violation of discipline, which serve the need of the bourgeoisie to negate the four basic principles and which are directly antagonistic to the fundamental interests of the proletariat, naturally are a question of class struggle. But mistakes in understanding, method and learning should not be considered class struggle, and even less can be considered a question between the enemy and ourselves. If we do consider them as such, then class struggle will be broadened in scope. In real life, conditions are complex. If people violate party discipline and state law, they should be severely dealt with. However, we still must, based on differing conditions, differentiate the two kinds of contradictions, and a person in the category of the people who makes a mistake cannot be treated as an enemy. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amok, everything was considered to be class struggle, even to the extent that the cases of some persons with a poor class background who had committed ordinary mistakes were raised to the higher level of class struggle and the scope of class struggle was expanded. The lesson in this respect was very grievous.

We must make a distinction between bourgeois influence and class struggle. Marx said that a socialist society emerges from the old society and "therefore, in every aspect, economic, moral and spiritual, it bears the marks of its birth from that old society." These marks include the influence of the bourgeoisie. This influence is profound and lasting; even when in the world of the future the bourgeoisie is completely eliminated, this influence will still exist for a comparatively long period of time. The influence of the bourgeoisie and the direct antagonism between classes are distinguishable in principle. Naturally, the two of them, under certain conditions, can change. For example, a person who has been influenced by bourgeois ideology, and who therefore refuses to be reformed through education, will develop a direct antagonism toward the proletariat, and even finally degenerate into an enemy. The bourgeois ideology existing in the party, the subjectivism existing among some working personnel in state organs, bureaucratism, the pursuit of special privileges, the calculation of an individual's private interests, the laxness in discipline--all these are questions of bourgeois influence. We should look squarely at a contradiction to see if it is this kind of class struggle among the people or the influence of class struggle. However, we cannot, like Lin Biao and the "gang of four," equate social contradictions with class struggle, to the extent that they confused and poisoned people's minds by saying that the bourgeoisie had already gotten into the party. They said this solely from an ulterior motive.

We must have a demarcation line to distinguish the remnants of small commodity production from capitalist activity. Under the socialist system, remnants of small commodity production exist objectively. Among them, some, like the private plots of commune members and the sideline occupations of households, exist to supplement the socialist economy. They are distinguishable in principle from capitalist activity. Capitalism, in the production sphere, accumulates capital from the surplus value generated from exploitation, and in the circulation sphere buys and sells at will. This is fundamentally different from small commodity production, which, relying on its own labor, sells its products with the objective of buying in return other products that it needs. Therefore, it does not engage in exploitation and is of benefit, not harm, to the consolidation and development of the socialist economy. It cannot be reckoned to be capitalist activity, and even less can we look upon it as a question of class struggle. As for some persons who derive their individual incomes from not handling well the three relations between the state, the collective and the individual, their question is primarily one of education. What is, without the slightest doubt, capitalist activity must be stopped, but the elimination of the remnants of small commodity production ultimately depends on raising the productive force of the entire society. In this respect, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were even more absurd. They said that a granny in the countryside going somewhere to sell a chicken or a commune member taking a load of manure to some place was a case of the struggle between two classes and two roads. This inflicted catastrophic damage on the rural economy.

Only by strictly distinguishing between social contradictions and class struggle, and by learning how to correctly deal with the question of class struggle among the people, can we smoothly promote the shift in work emphasis and insure an early realization of the four modernizations.

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON COMPILING PARTY HISTORY

HK010133 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 79 p 3 HK

[Report: "Appraise Personalities in Party History Realistically, Restore Party History to Its Original Features--Seminar on Historical Party Biographies Held in Guangzhou"]

[Text] A seminar on historical party biographies was held in Guangzhou from December 4 to 18. Those comrades who attended the seminar were determined to deeply investigate and do well in compiling historical party biographies with a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility.

This seminar was held and sponsored by the Society for Research on Historical Figures of the Communist Party of China, a mass and academic organization for study and compilation of historical party biographies. Since it was founded this March, more than 150 units throughout the country have participated as members, compiling 57 biographies. Of them, 10 have been selected through study by this seminar for the first volume of "Biographies of Historical Figures of the Chinese Communist Party" to be published next year by the Shaanx People's Publishing House. These include the biographies of Comrades Wang Jinmei, Ruan Xiaoxian and Xiao Chun".

In this seminar, academic reports on the study of the revolutionary activities of Comrades Zhou Enlai, Li Dazhao and Peng Dehuai were delivered. Participants also exchanged views on experiences relating to research work in party history and discussed the principles to be followed in compiling a party history. Everyone held that in compiling biographies, it was imperative to seek truth from facts, uphold historical materialism and make evaluations in strict accordance with achievements and errors. By no means should we arbitrarily overestimate or underestimate the role of historical figures. We must adopt a scientific attitude in writing about the various stages of ideological development and specific characteristics of personalities. We must appraise them in accordance with certain historical conditions, respect history and resolutely oppose the pursuit of apriorism and the theory of innate genius. We must deeply investigate and study, grasp firsthand data, pay attention to gain the support and assistance of revolutionaries of the older generation and relatives of martyrs and

precisely and clearly investigate the life history and events that the personalities went through. We must dare to break down "forbidden zones," turn chaos into order, use facts to expose the rumormongering and mudslinging of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," restore party history to its original features and propagate the magnificent contributions of revolutionaries of the older generation.

The more than 200 representatives who attended the seminar came from units such as colleges and universities, military institutions, social sciences research organizations, publishing houses and memorial halls of revolutionary history from 25 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. These participants included old experts as well as young teaching and scientific research personnel in party history. This was a grand academic gathering to study our country's historical party personalities. Guangdong Provincial party committee Second Secretary Yang Shangkun spoke at the opening of the seminar, saying: Before the great cultural revolution began, the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao had paid such close attention to this matter that a group headed by Dong Biwu was organized to write a history of the party. Unfortunately, owing to the movement of the great cultural revolution, this party history was never compiled. Most of histories compiled during the great cultural revolution were distortions and forgeries. To carry on our party's revolutionary tradition, it is extremely necessary to write a good and faithful history of the party. He further said: Party activities were carried out through the activities of personalities in party history. Therefore, it is very important to study historical figures in our party history. To do a good job of compiling historical biographies, party we must adhere to the historical materialist viewpoint and a truthseeking attitude. He indicated his willingness to provide information within his capacity to research workers in party history and offer vigorous support to their work.

During the meeting, representatives from many places drafted plans for their work in compiling a party history.

The meeting elected He Changgong as president of the learned society and Li Xin and Hu Hua vice presidents. A secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and directors were also elected.

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PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON MONGOLIAN APPOINTMENTS IN AUTONOMOUS REGION

OW040152 Beijing XINHUA in English 0115 GMT 4 Jan 80 OW

[Text] Hohhot, January 4 (XINHUA)--Sixty-eight-year-old Kongfei, a veteran revolutionary cadres of Mongolian nationality, was recently elected chairman of the people's government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

He is one of a number of Mongolian cadres elected to leading positions at the recent second session of the Fifth Regional People's Congress.

They include 66-year-old Tingmao, who was chosen as chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress. Liwenjing was elected president of the regional higher people's court.

Kongfei, the new chairman of the regional people's government, was born in a peasant family in the Horqin left wing middle banner of the Jirem League, Inner Mongolia. He joined the revolution in 1936 after graduating from the department of border politics in the Northeast China University, and engaged in research work at a nationalities institute in Yan'an in northwest China's Shaanxi Province. Subsequently he became a column commander and divisional commander of an army unit led by the Chinese Communist Party in Inner Mongolian military area.

Kongfei was elected vice-chairman of the Inner Mongolian regional committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1977. The following year, he became secretary of the regional party committee and chairman of the regional revolutionary committee.

Tingmao was born in northeast China's Liaoning Province. After joining the Chinese revolution in 1936 he served as battalion political instructor, regimental political commissar and director of the political department and political commissar of the provincial command of the people's army. In 1979, Tingmao was chosen as the second secretary of the party committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

In a report on the work of the former revolutionary committee to the regional people's congress, Kongfei stressed the importance of implementing

of the party's policy on nationalities and giving full scope to the initiative of the various nationalities in building socialism.

He said: "We have promoted some cadres of minority nationalities to leading posts at all levels in various departments. We should continue to train large numbers of minority cadres who have a communist consciousness, and especially to train cadres in economic management and technical work. Those who are outstanding should be promoted to leading posts in economic, scientific and other professional fields.

He pointed out that the great majority of the minority people in Inner Mongolia lived in mixed farming and stock-raising areas. The regional government decided to devote its major efforts to economic and cultural work with the stress on animal husbandry. This, he said, would hasten the progress of the minority nationalities.

The congress also elected a Mongolian woman, Baoriledai, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress. She is an expert in desert control and secretary of the regional party committee.

At the second session of the fourth regional committee of the C.P.P.C.C. which was held simultaneously, regional construction and other related subjects were widely discussed. Another Mongolian, Kuibi, was elected chairman of the committee.

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ISSUE, ROLE OF CLASS STRUGGLE AMONG PEOPLE ANALYZED

Existence of Class Struggle

Beijing ZHEXUE VANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 10, Oct 79 pp 13-14

[Article by He Kuang [0149 0562]: "Does Class Struggle Still Exist Among the People After the Disappearance of Exploiting Classes?"]

[Text] Recently, some articles that appeared in newspapers and journals held that the class struggle has ceased to exist among the people after the exploiting classes were eliminated. They reasoned that the national bourgeoisie comes under the category of the people in our country, and once the bourgeoisie as a class falls out of the picture, the class struggle among the people would cease to exist. Is this judgment correct? This judgment is indisputable from the standpoint of the traditional school of thought about the class struggle. True, the class struggle such as those theorized in the classical Marxist works largely means one between the exploiting and exploited classes and between the antagonistic classes with a fundamental clash of interests. After the exploiting classes were eliminated, it should be said that this form of class struggle has truly ceased to exist. If the class struggle can only assume that form and can be explained only in that manner, not only would it have ceased to exist among the people in our country, but also in our society as a whole (an exception is the international class struggle).

Yet those comrades who advocate that the class struggle has ceased to exist among the people acknowledge that it still asserts its influence on our society. Does this indicate a clear contradiction? It seems that the class struggle they have talked about does not mean the struggle between the antagonistic classes of the old days. An analysis of their related essays reveals this truth. They maintained that after the exploiting classes were eliminated, the class struggle in our country means a struggle against the counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals, political degenerates, speculators, embezzlers, unreformed landlords and rich peasants, and remnants of the "gang of four" and other exploiting classes. Can these elements and

remnants form a new exploiting class? Clearly, they cannot because they are only a bunch of undisciplined individuals without any organic connections among themselves. This is the reason why no one has recognized them as a class thus far (I am afraid that the same is true for the future). This is really a new feature: a class struggle devoid of the exploiting classes. This is also an extraordinary form of class struggle unprecedented in history. Our task is to study its basic characteristics by integrating theory with practice and to develop correct methods for carrying on such class struggle.

The comrades who deny that there are class struggles among the people agree that the struggle against the aforementioned elements is a class struggle for the explicitly clear reason that these elements are enemies. For this reason, what these comrades recognize as class struggle is but one between ourselves and the enemy. Is the view that as long as it is a class struggle, it means a contradiction and struggle between ourselves and the enemy compatible with objective reality? Is it correct? Now let me analyze it before making any judgment.

Counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, unreformed landlords and rich peasants are undoubtedly elements who come under the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. But how about the exploiting behavior of speculators and embezzlers, the rotten behavior of political degenerates, and the behavior of those guilty of crimes--is our struggle against them a class struggle? The response should be "yes," because such behavior by nature is of the exploiting classes. In fact, most of those who behave this way are not enemies, but people, or elements listed under the category of the people who have committed crimes. This being the case, our struggle against these criminal acts should come under the category of class struggle among the people rather than that between ourselves and the enemy. Does this sound crystal clear?

But some comrades stated: "a clear line should be drawn between elements and behavior. When behavior develops to the degree of earning these elements a bad name, it has the effect of degeneration. Those who committed crimes transformed themselves into enemies. (Whether they are all enemies is a matter left for future discussion.) Our struggle against these elements only takes the form of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy." Only in this manner can we draw a clear distinction between the criminal acts (which differ in nature, degree, and case-by-case) and criminals (like the aforementioned elements). Our struggle against the behavior of speculators and embezzlers which has not yet reached the degree of earning them the name of bad elements should not be considered as a class struggle; only our struggle against those who committed serious crimes can be called a class struggle. Can this logic be established?

The denial that there is any class struggle among the people stems from a subjective intention not to escalate it. As a matter of fact, it has the effect of escalating the class struggle because an event originally listed

under the category of class struggle among the people is expanded into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. We should honestly recognize the existence of class struggle among the people and resolve it in a way the contradictions among the people are handled. Only thus can we truly achieve the objective of correctly distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and handling them properly, as well as the purpose of neither scaling down nor escalating the class struggle.

Is there any class struggle among the people in the ideological field? This is a question worth studying.

Current Class Struggle Situation

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 10, Oct 79 pp 14-18

[Article by Lu Huilin [0712 2585 7207]: "Is There Still Class Struggle Among the People?"]

[Text] A correct understanding of the current class situation and class struggle in our country also involves seeking an accurate answer to the question of whether the class struggle still exists among the people, a question which has attracted the people's attention. Some comrades maintained that the class struggle still exists among the people, contending that the current class struggle mainly means grasping class struggle among the people. I disagree with this view because the continuous emphasis of the class struggle among the people following the resolution of the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is incompatible with objective reality, theoretically wrong and harmful to the practice in the struggle.

I

What does class struggle mean? In their "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels viewed the class struggle as a struggle between two always diametrically opposed classes--the classes of oppressors and the oppressed. Elaborating on this point, the preface to the 1883 German version of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" points out: "(Since the disintegration of the primitive system of the public ownership of land), the entire history is one of class struggle or a struggle between the classes of the oppressors and the oppressed and between the ruling classes and the ruled at various stages of social development" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 232). Lenin also pointed out: "What does class struggle mean? It means a struggle carried out by one group of people against another, a struggle between the underprivileged and oppressed laboring masses on the one hand and the oppressors who enjoy special privileges and their parasites on the other" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 443). Therefore, the class struggle means a struggle between the classes with conflicts of fundamental

interests. This is the basic Marxist viewpoint of class struggle. Any interpretation of class struggle departing from this viewpoint is not permitted. Class struggle does not mean a contradiction and struggle among individuals different in grade or between one group of people and another from the same class. No one should call the contradiction and struggle among the working people a class struggle. In his work "On Contradiction," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: the contradiction between workers and peasants will not assume the form of class struggle. It is wrong to look for class struggle among the working people.

What does class struggle among the people mean? This concept of class struggle among the people results from the summarization of objective facts of complicated class struggle. In history, there were class struggles between slaves and slaveowners, between peasants and feudal landlords, between workers and capitalists, between feudal landlords and slaveowners, between capitalists and feudal landlords and between other basic classes. But there were complicated class struggles in different periods of history. Sometimes, the struggle among many basic classes became so complicated and interrelated that in certain periods of history, a contradiction between two diametrically opposed classes gave way to the principal contradiction and in the process, two or more basic classes came under the same category of the people. For example, during the French bourgeois revolution, the relationship between the working class and the bourgeoisie of the third estate was one between the exploiter and exploited, and the contradiction between them developed into a class struggle. But in the anti-feudal struggle, the third estate was categorized as the commoners. In the struggle against the feudal autocratic rule, all classes and strata of the third estate cooperated in varying degrees for a common cause. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our party formed a united front not only with the national bourgeoisie, but also with the pro-U.S. big bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang-Chiang Kai-shek group as well. There were still frictions and struggles among all classes under the united front. The root cause of such frictions stemmed from the conflicts of fundamental interests between the rulers and the ruled, and between the exploiter and the exploited. For this reason, we cannot deny that such frictions and struggle were class struggle. However, under the common cause of resistance against Japan, all anti-Japanese classes and social groups were categorized as the people, and therefore, all contradictions and struggles among them should give way to the national War of Resistance Against Japan. This history showed that "the concept of the people varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in the same country" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol V, p 364). Under specific historical conditions, there exist classes with conflicting interests under the category of the people. Objectively speaking, the contradictions and struggles between these classes form the class struggle among the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong was the first to present to us the concept of class struggle among the people from the theoretical point of view. In this connection, he pointed out: "In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie comes under the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie while its support of the constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitutes the other" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol V, p 365). We should recognize and treat the struggle between the working class and the national bourgeoisie in our country as the class struggle among the people. Only in this way can we help to resolve the contradiction between the two properly and make a significant contribution to the Marxist theory of class struggle.

During the past 30 years following the founding of the PRC, a great change has taken place in the class relations. The capitalists as a class now no longer exist. Most of its members who are able to work have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. The triumph of the working class over the national bourgeoisie has put an end to the class struggle among the people. Of course, there are still a very few unreformed national bourgeois elements who still stick to their reactionary stand and carry on their anti-socialist political and economic activities. They do not come under the category of the people because they are enemies. Our struggle against them cannot be called a class struggle among the people. Presently, the masters of our socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants, intellectuals, and those other patriots who support socialism. Building and developing the socialist cause is in their common interest. Although there are still contradictions of one kind or another among them, the relationships between the rulers and the ruled and between the exploiter and the exploited no longer exist in their life. There is neither a fundamental clash of interests nor a class struggle among them. It is theoretically unwise to continue emphasizing class struggle among them.

II

Any adherents to the basic Marxist viewpoint of class struggle must draw a distinction between the class struggle and its manifestations and influence over the people. In our country, there are still the counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals who seriously disrupt the socialist public order, political degenerates, new exploiters, remnants of the "gang of four," a few unreformed landlords and rich peasants and other exploiting classes. Since they are class enemies, our struggle against them is a class struggle currently underway in our country. But class struggle at home is closely

related to class struggle abroad. Social class struggle is bound to make its influence felt among the people, an influence which is directly or indirectly connected with the growth and development of contradictions among the people. But it must be noted that the manifestations and influence of the class struggle among the people come under the category of contradictions among the people while our current class struggle is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. These two types of contradictions are by nature different, and therefore, as a matter of principle, different methods must be adopted to handle them.

Some comrades said: class struggle can be explained in a broad-minded and narrow-minded manner. This is a matter worth studying. But this should not be cited as a reason for treating class struggle and its manifestations and influence over the people as equal. In whatever way the class struggle is explained, no one should be allowed to run the risk of violating the basic Marxist viewpoint of class struggle. Explaining class struggle in a broad-minded manner means placing all problems on the table for examination and therefore is meaningful. For example, one can argue that as soon as the four modernizations are realized, it will help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and create an inevitable material condition for eventually eliminating classes. Only by looking at the problems that way can we say that the class struggle is meaningful. In a like manner, one can also say that handling contradictions among the people properly, especially those class struggle-oriented contradictions, will benefit our struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other decadent and dying classes. Assessing problems this way will make the class struggle meaningful too. But how to realize the four modernizations and how to handle contradictions among the people properly are topics which should in no way be construed as a direct class struggle. Otherwise we would run the risk of abusing the concept of class struggle.

The struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois world outlooks that has taken place among the people does not come under the category of class struggle in the ideological field. Our current class struggle in the ideological field means exposing and dealing blows to the class enemies who have used various reactionary and decadent ideologies to corrupt the minds of the people and hurt the youngsters. This form of class struggle is closely related to class struggle in the political and economic fields, and therefore should not be treated as an isolated case. The class struggle carried out by the class enemies in the ideological field is aimed at serving their struggle in the political and economic fields. A variety of erroneous ideas may crop among the people under the influence of the class struggle. For example, some individuals who envy the bourgeois way of life now look at the proletarian tradition and workstyle of plain living and hard struggle with prejudices; others no longer trust or even show objections to the four basic principles for ideological reasons. Things like this are not struggles carried out by class enemies against us, and therefore should not be treated as such. The academic debates in which some

erroneous viewpoint influenced by the bourgeois and feudal ideologies may be expressed are not permitted to be called class struggles. Otherwise, the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" would suffer a serious setback.

It must also be pointed out: there are many ideological problems among the people which should not be linked to the outcome of class struggle through any stretch of imagination. Furthermore, two different types of ideologies originating from the exploiting classes have cropped up among the people. One directly related to the class struggle in the ideological field is gaining strength under the corrosive and pernicious influence of class enemies; the other is growing under the widespread influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes, and therefore has no direct relation to the activities of class enemies. An assessment of the current situation showed that the latter now prevails over the former. Just as Lenin once said: the capitalism that has been beaten to death has become decomposed, thus polluting the air, and threatening our lives; the fresh, young, vital elements are surrounded by the decadent and moribund ones in all directions. We must criticize the world outlooks of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and strengthen the party's political and ideological work. All problems of an ideological nature should be resolved through democratic discussion and education.

Influenced by the ideologies of the exploiting classes, some people have violated laws and committed crimes. Is the struggle against them a class struggle? In my opinion, only those who are guilty of being counterrevolutionaries and seriously disrupting the social order can be called class enemies, and our struggle against them constitutes a class struggle. Those ordinary criminals who have failed to handle properly the relationships between the state, enterprises, collectives, and individuals and have done something to fulfill their own wishes at the expense of the interests of the state and people must be tried and punished. This legal procedure for handling the problems among the people is a measure which has nothing in common with the exercise of dictatorship over the class enemies. If the contradictions among the people are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, they can become contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. We must do everything possible to prevent these contradictions from deteriorating. But a contradiction is inclined to change its nature. An element originally listed under the category of the people can no longer be treated as a problem among the people as soon as he is found guilty of being a counterrevolutionary and seriously disrupting the social order. Nor can a case like this be used as evidence that class struggle does exist among the people.

The current class struggle can be linked in one way or another with the contradictions among the people because the two are often interrelated and interconnected. Generally speaking, those relatively serious mass disturbances were probably caused by some individual trouble-making class enemies who

deliberately set themselves up in the masses. While dealing blows to a very few class enemies who have instigated disturbances, created troubles and engaged in sabotage, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. Under no circumstances should they all be treated in the same manner. The emergence of these cases has given rise to a series of complicated class struggles. The class struggle that has taken place in society is bound to have influence over the people, an influence which can neither be ignored nor be treated lightly. It also warrants no panic. If we panic, we may mistake all grass and trees for enemy troops. We must focus our efforts on handling the contradictions among the people properly. Only thus can we correctly guide ourselves to do a good job in the struggle in the political, economic and ideological fields, effectively expose and deal blows to the enemies, and effectively educate the broad masses of people.

III

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong made an accurate analysis of the class situation and class struggle in our country. In that analysis, he pointed out: "There are still counterrevolutionaries, but not many." "The large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol V, pp 378, 375). He also demanded that during the period of socialist construction, the entire party handle the contradictions among the people properly as our general program, unite all people that can be united, and mobilize all positive factors to serve the great socialist cause. But this general program was not effectively implemented following its proclamation. Many reasons can be cited for this failure. But I consider misusing the concept of class struggle and mistaking the influence that the class struggle had over the people for the class struggle itself to be the most direct reason.

The concept of class struggle among the people set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong originally meant the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. But in the days that followed 1957, it was widely interpreted as a contradiction among the people, thus deviating from the basic Marxist viewpoint of class struggle. At the 1959 Lushan meeting, the contradictions within the ranks of the party were identified as the class struggle. Since then, no clear line has been drawn between the class struggle and the influence it had over the people. For a considerably long time, an enthusiasm for class struggle heated up in our country. Only those who grasped class struggle were praised as revolutionaries. Anyone who stressed the contradictions among the people would be accused of negating the class struggle. At that time, the political life of the party and state was dominated by class struggle mistakenly escalated. As a result, socialist democracy and democracy within the party suffered a great setback, thus providing a handful of conspirators and careerists with an opportunity to usurp party and state

power. Gloating over the mistake we made on the issue of class struggle, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" viciously developed and carried out a reactionary form of class struggle detrimental to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over 20 years of practical experience showed that it is unwise to continuously stress the class struggle among the people following the disappearance of the capitalist class from our society. By continuing to stress class struggle, we would induce the working people to make a mistake of artificially creating class struggles, affording some individuals an easy opportunity to raise "small" issues to the level of class struggle, to deliberately punish their adversaries and to bring factors of instability to our society. Class struggle carried out in this manner cannot serve as a driving force for pushing society forward. On the contrary, it will become an obstacle to the development of society. During this new historical period, we should consider handling the contradictions among the people properly as the general objective of our work. Only thus can we grasp the current class struggle well, in such a way that it will neither be escalated nor scaled down. It is precisely in this manner that the political stability can be preserved in our society, and the four modernizations will gain momentum.

Yet some comrades have attributed the problems that have cropped up in society to the policy to tone down the propaganda campaign for class struggle. To them, no single issue or event will become important or can receive attention unless it is treated as a matter of class struggle. If the class struggle is ignored, they would become ill at ease. This may signal a resurgence of the ultraleft trend of thought. Therefore, further efforts must be made to eliminate chaos and restore order and stamp out this evil influence.

Practical experience teaches us that the idea of using class struggle as a "magic weapon" to resolve social problems is only wishful thinking. Presently, great attention must be paid to the bourgeois ideological contamination of our youngsters, which has assumed a serious proportion. Despite this fact, any excessive use of class struggle as a solution to the problem is inadvisable. The assumption that every problem can be resolved through launching of a large-scale class struggle and creation of a series of "red storms" is also a big mistake. Although the class struggle was emphasized daily during the Great Cultural Revolution, the crime rate continued to rise instead of going down. This was really a punishment meted out to us by the class struggle. Of course, we must educate the youngsters in class struggle as a reminder that the class struggle is not yet over, and that they will still have to consciously resist and combat the influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. Saying so does not contradict what I stated earlier. But a fundamental measure to control the juvenile delinquency problem is the mobilization of all forces in society to strengthen education of youngsters on the one hand and to promote production to further improve the living standards of the people on the other. This task can be effectively performed in the absence of class struggle.

The decision to shift the focus of the party's propaganda work to socialist economic construction is compatible with the objective laws governing the development of class struggle in our country today. Since the seizure of political power by the proletariat, one new success after another has been scored in socialist revolution and construction. This being the case, the intensity of class struggle is bound to scale down in accordance with the laws of its development. If the class struggle does not move this way, the socialist revolution and the class struggle waged by the proletariat will not advance to victory, and the eventual elimination of class struggle will become an object beyond our reach. The class struggle sharpened under the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their downfall represented a major victory for the proletariat since the founding of the PRC. As the number of class enemies is now becoming fewer and fewer, a general trend of class struggle indicates that it is gradually tapering off instead of gaining momentum. Only thus can we gear the class struggle to serve the central task of socialist modernization. If we view all manifestations and influence of class struggle and all class struggle-related tasks as class struggle itself, eventually class struggle would run amuck everywhere and the people would be forced to take the class struggle as the key link again. We must clean up the ideological confusions resulting from long years of debate on the class struggle. Only thus can we gain a clear picture of the current situation of class struggle and its role by seeking truth from facts and shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONTINUING STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL DEGENERATION DISCUSSED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 10, 15 Oct 79
pp 3-12

[Article by Wang Xiaoqiang [3769 1420 1730]: "The Peasantry and the Struggle Against Feudalism"]

[Excerpts] In Chinese history, there were many peasant uprisings and violence which led to success in varying degrees in overthrowing the old feudal rulers and establishing the "new" political powers. But none of them escaped the fate of degeneration into the tools of the feudal rule. This tragic fate of degeneration was dictated by the law of history rather than by the class origins and moral qualities of the revolutionaries themselves. An example was a tenant-peasant named Chen Sheng who said to his friends when he was poor: "If I get rich, I will not forget you." After becoming a king, he killed his poor brother when the latter came to visit him. Zhu Yuanzhang was orphaned as a child. When he found in the world that he had no one to turn to for help, he shaved his head and became a monk. After joining the Red Turban Rebels, he earned the reputation for bravery and good war tactics. After becoming their leader, he soon won support and respect from both civilians and soldiers for the imposition of rigid discipline on his troops, and for issuing orders banning his soldiers from looting the people upon entering a city he conquered. But during the 30 years of his reign as emperor of the Ming Dynasty, he adopted a high-handed policy to suppress the peasant uprisings. He was also cruel to his cabinet members and subjects. All told, he ordered over 100,000 killed. Among them were dukes, marquis, men of letters, and scholars. Almost all those heroes and old generals who helped found the Ming Dynasty were killed at his orders. In this connection, Wu Han said: "His barbarism and cruelty were unmatched by other emperors in Chinese history." The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was another example of the peasant uprisings. Dreaming of building an equalitarian utopia in which "all farmland, food, clothing and fortunes are evenly and fairly divided among its subjects," its founders proclaimed a "system of ceremonial forms," using such ethical principles as "three guides and five constant virtues" and other bothersome petty formalities to guide the establishment of a feudal estate system. All these ill-fated peasant uprisings bear witness to the fact that they could neither play a

decisive role in completely overthrowing any old system nor give birth to any democratic political power; without the leadership of the advanced classes, no political power born of the successful peasant uprisings could escape the fate of political degeneration.

The Chinese proletariat's appearance on the political scene in the wake of the May Fourth Movement kindled a real hope for the working people to win the war for their liberation. The proletarian leadership was significant in that not only could it play a decisive role in bringing the revolution to victory, but also prevent the revolution from becoming just another peasant uprising in Chinese history. The revolution gained new momentum as a result of the development of the modern machine-building industry and the growth of the proletariat in China.

However, the new productive forces in old China were not well developed. Before the birth of our party, there were only 1,759 modern factories employing 557,622 workers. In 1924, the Chinese working class claimed only 1.8 million members. On the eve of the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, "about 90 percent of our economic life remains the same as in ancient times." A realistic assessment of the development of the productive forces offered the future of the Chinese democratic revolution this picture: the peasants representing those elements outside the new productive forces are still the main force for the revolution.

The Chinese revolution was born at a time when the international situation underwent changes as a result of World War I and the Russian "October Revolution." Embodying the new character of the proletarian leadership, the revolution differs in every sense from any peasant uprising in Chinese history. Yet in old China, modern industry was so limited that it was concentrated only in a few coastal cities or near the communication centers. For this reason, the economic life in the rural part of interior China gained little headway. Although the force that led the revolution was the proletariat, most of the workers who made up that force and who were few in number took no direct part in the armed struggle for encircling the cities from the countryside. The main revolutionary force was composed of the peasants living in the remote and interior areas of China, far away from the cities and modern civilization. On the one hand, these peasants often demonstrated a militant spirit of resistance in response to the savage feudal oppression they heavily suffered; on the other hand, they seldom extended their thoughts beyond the economic status of small producers because they were out of touch with modern civilization. For centuries, they lived a life in the natural environment of the economic order and in isolation from the rest of the world. Their wisdom and intelligence were wasted under the weight of the savage dictatorial system; they were too preoccupied with heavy, simple manual labor to be able to have any enjoyable spiritual life. It was no wonder that they displayed an indomitable, militant spirit in defiance of frustrations and difficult conditions in the course of the revolution, just as their predecessors did in history. It can be said that the revolution could never have been won without their

sacrifices and contributions to the struggle. Meanwhile, it must also be pointed out: as victims of exploitations, peasants were opposed to feudalism; as small property owners, they were characterized by laxity, selfishness, backwardness, and conservatism. Their selfishness and conservatism could be closely linked to the narrow-minded practices of small-scale production and the old traditions of the feudal society. Although the peasants served as the main force for the democratic revolution, they bore no resemblance to the proletarian revolutionary forces known for their high political consciousness in their resolute struggle against feudalism. The equalitarian concept inherited by the peasants that there should be "no gaps between privileged and underprivileged and between rich and poor" was fundamentally different from the bourgeois advocacy of "equal rights" based on the principle of commodity exchange at equal value, nor had it anything in common with the proletarian conception of equality built on the basis of modern science and mass production and the ownership of the means of production by the workers. The peasants' concept of equality with the equalitarianism as its nucleus, a reflection of the small producers' fears of bankruptcy, was actually a utopian thought founded on the rural economy. The experience of the old-line peasant uprisings showed that this utopian thought had no chance for realization. The reason is that as soon as the small producers took control of political power, no ways could be found to prevent them from unknowingly moving in a direction contrary to the general public's interests, nor could anything be done to stop them from reimposing a feudal autocratic system on the people. Only after the influence of the narrow-minded peasant thoughts was eliminated under the leadership of the proletariat and its political party could the peasants be helped to prevent history from repeating itself during the revolution.

The main content of the new democratic revolution was the agrarian revolution aimed at meeting the peasants' demands for acquiring land. This was also a move to meet the objective needs for developing the productive forces through the flexible application of Marxism. The new democratic revolution was immediately followed by the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in an effort to greatly develop the social productive forces in our country. To help modern industry grow in strength requires an increasing effort to back it up with modern technical know-how on organizing and managing production and to resist the force of habit of small production. Economically, when the productive forces developed, a need grew for applying modern scientific and democratic methods to manage the economy and for instituting some measures to prevent the senior cadres from imposing their wills on the people without restrictions and from abusing their administrative authorities; politically, the development of the productive forces was certain to give rise to a desire for overcoming the patriarchal system and for gradually realizing people's democracy. The wheel of history eventually pushed the revolution to a level of achievements far surpassing what the traditional peasant uprisings were expected to achieve. After our party became the ruling party and our cadres came to power, a profound change took place on the political front. Under such circumstances, the "struggle for promoting democracy

and for overcoming bureaucratism, which is a synonym for the systems of the Middle Ages, small-scale production and laxity characteristic of the small producers," immediately assumed greater, more far-reaching political significance. It was bound to have a decisive impact on the destiny of the Chinese revolution.

Facts indicate that just as Lenin said, the bureaucratic tendency characteristic of the old-line capitalism began to assume a serious proportion in our party as early as the days before the "Eighth National CCP Congress." In his "Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party" to the "Eighth Congress," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said candidly: "Many leading organs and comrades holding high positions are unwilling to keep in touch with the masses. They are arrogant, overbearing, rude, and act as if they were more clever than others. They are unwilling to bring problems up for discussion with the masses, often impose their opinions on others, and refuse to acknowledge mistakes they made in order to preserve their credibility." He added: "They exaggerate their importance, emphasize their credibility, and love to hear flattery and praise, but hate to be criticized and supervised by others. They turn upside down the relationships between the party and people. They have no intention at all to serve the people while abusing the authority delegated by the people, and violating the laws and discipline. This is really a very unhealthy, unpopular workstyle and a reflection of the workstyle of the old-time ruling classes in our revolutionary ranks." Attention must be paid to the following questions: Why did those war-tested revolutionary cadres foster such an unpopular workstyle? Why were those in our revolutionary ranks so susceptible to the workstyle of the old-time ruling classes? Did this happen by accident or by latent, inescapable reasons?

In China, where the peasants make up over 80 percent of its population, "the basic units of our party organization are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty bourgeois origin." Until June 1956, some 86 percent of the advanced proletarian elements who were members of our party organization were not of working class origin; peasants claimed 69.1 percent of the entire membership of our party. This figure can convince the people that the vast numbers of the peasant members of our party can be entirely converted into advanced proletarian elements through the prolonged tests of the struggle and the strengthening of the party's education in Marxist ideology. But no one can deny that "China is a country with a very large petty bourgeoisie and our party is surrounded by this enormous class; a great number of our party members come from this class, and when they join the party they inevitably drag in with them a petty bourgeois tail, be it long or short." This is why such peasant concepts as "whoever conquers the world is entitled to dominate it," the equalitarian ideology of "agricultural socialism," and specifically the workstyle of the small producers and the feudal patriarchal system could find a wide market in the ranks of our party and have a very profound influence over its members. Worse was the fact that the peasants were willing to serve as a conduit for spreading such backward ideologies as the traditional feudal ideas and codes of ethics until they took root in the soil

of their consciousness. Furthermore, in our revolutionary ranks, there were a considerable number of people who narrow-mindedly explained the revolution merely as a struggle for changing the "rulers of a country." They took pride in being the "benefactors" of the people. But once they came to power, they forgot that they were only the public servants of the people. True, in our country, there were still a few cadres who abused their authorities through blackmail. These cadres also committed bribery and embezzlement, practiced favoritism in violation of laws, loved privileges and pleasure, brought nepotism into full play, and ruled arbitrarily like the patriarchs under the feudal system, thus depriving the people of their rights. They tied up the innocent and lifted them off the ground for torture. Although we have to make a case-by-case analysis of these cadres, in dealing with them our problem remains one of strengthening education. On the other hand, we should realize that instances similar to the process of degeneration experienced by the old-time peasant uprisings appeared in succession in some localities and departments; the continued emergence of such instances really reflected a dangerous trend. In view of this, the worker-peasant political power led by our party felt that it not only had the responsibility to prevent the revival of capitalism, but also faced a serious task to stop itself from moving in a direction leading to the restoration of feudal autocracy. This task was more difficult to carry out than the prevention of capitalism at a time when much had yet to be done in raising the economic and cultural levels of the people.

"Ours is a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail." "The evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even of the ordinary party members that it cannot be swept away at once; when anything crops up, they choose the easy way and have no liking for the bothersome democratic system." In the course of the socialist revolution and construction, we were required to continue the struggle against the feudal remnants, to conscientiously learn from history a lesson about the tendency of the "peasant political power" to degenerate into a feudal autocratic rule, and to display determination to eliminate feudal privileges. We were also required to make it clear that the concentration of state power at the high levels was only a temporary expediency which had nothing in common with the feudal patriarchal system, do everything possible to create opportunities for the people to participate in the administration of their country and educate them, especially peasants, in democracy. But no impetus was given to the "sluggish" peasant movement for subjective and objective reasons, and specifically due to the prolonged interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

For many years, we had struggled against bureaucratism and the tendency of degeneration. But the outcome of the struggle would not have been a success, and the root of evils would not have been removed, if we failed to recognize and single out the elements that might cause our political power to degenerate, and if we treated a historical, class-oriented problem

merely as a result of subversion by the external enemies. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" even fooled some of our muddle-headed comrades into believing that our party played no role in leading the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie to transform themselves. For years, while flaunting the banner of criticizing capitalism and bourgeois democracy and singing songs of legalists of the landlord class, they deliberately described the sluggish and conservative character of peasants as revolutionary and overemphasized the revolutionary nature of the petty bourgeoisie. As we all know, during the Russian revolutionary movement, Lenin always assigned the working class as a leading force to lead the revolution carried out by peasants in the countryside. To Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it seemed that only the peasant class was most revolutionary, so that all workers, students, intellectuals and even revolutionary cadres (including long-tested old cadres of peasant origin) should go to the countryside to be reeducated by peasants. This was really a most preposterous fallacy.

In a tumultuous campaign to praise the legalists, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" called the reactionary equalitarianism an instrument for "restricting the bourgeois right" and "pauperism" a panacea for eliminating the three great differences between workers and peasants, between urban and rural areas and between manual and mental labor; they viewed commodity production and the law of value as something to be feared, and self-reliance and the closed-door policy and conservatism as the first law under heaven; they regarded the relationship between the higher and lower levels as one between "a ruler and his senior officials" and the relationship between the leader and the masses as one between father and sons; in their eyes, the feudal tradition of loyalty to the king was the most lofty affection for the revolutionary class, and the fascist practices of the feudal dictatorial system represented a revolutionary determination. They openly and deliberately trampled under foot Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Their vicious attempt was to extol the legalists and glorify the negative aspects of peasants so that all feudal ideologies and codes of ethics could hold sway over the society as a whole, the so-called "three-loyalty and four-boundless" outlook would become a universal social mentality, the democratic political system would be entirely denied and a way would finally be paved for them to turn China into a kingdom under their control for generations to come.

The revolution suffered a serious setback as a result of the ferocious attempts by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to tamper with and negate the correct line of the Eighth National CCP Congress, nor was the struggle to resist and combat revisionism faring well because of their failure to coordinate it with other struggles against bureaucratism and the feudal patriarchal system. Consequently, not only did the democratic life inside and outside the party not gain momentum, but, on the contrary, the democratic life spontaneously built up since the early days of liberation was gradually replaced by the so-called "class struggle" and "struggle between the two lines." As the political movements were launched in rapid

succession, the democratic life inside and outside the party had no chance for normal growth, and for a long time laws to protect the people's democratic rights were non-existent. Under the circumstances in which the leading cadres did not need supervision by the people, unhealthy practices gained momentum, the feudal privileges grew steadily, and the work-style of the feudal patriarchal system prevailed over the spirit of daring to act, daring to speak out and daring to think, a spirit continuously fostered by Comrade Mao Zedong. The people became more careful and more conscious for fear of making any small mistakes. Few people dared to act or speak out. Some people were even discouraged to think. Healthy democratic practices inside and outside the party, such as discussion, criticism and self-criticism, were also out of the picture.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used the old and traditional forces to build up a tremendous influence in our revolutionary ranks. It was precisely this influence that they exploited to crush the healthy democratic life inside and outside the party, an influence which enabled them to usurp party and state power and to advance the feudal autocracy to a new peak. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not start their feudal fascist restoration without plans. Why could so many millions and tens of millions of Red Guards gather to stage a revolt and seize power? Why could so many people come to take part in that well-rehearsed farce with shoutings of "wish you a long life" and "wish you a long, long life"? There might be numerous reasons for bring this about. But the questions remains: why could such a few swaggering clowns pull off such a big farce? This is really a highly thought-provoking question. History has taught us this harsh lesson: 27 years after the founding of the PRC, the people who could no longer put up with the unbearable feudal dictatorial, tyrannical rule of the "gang of four" eventually rose in struggle against that rule and for the future of the revolution. But that bunch of animal-like savages even went so far as to mobilize a complete set of state machines, including army, police, militia units, courts, and prisons, to savagely suppress the people. The bloodshed at the Tiananmen Square has taught the people that the character of revolutionary political power may undergo changes; if not wisely managed, the dictatorship of the proletariat is quite likely to be exploited by the class enemies who want to impose a dictatorship on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is a painful lesson to recall. Every genuine communist party member should deeply think this over: why couldn't a long war-tested political party like ours prevent that unprecedented disaster? Are there any ways for us to prevent the representatives of the feudal patriarchal class from usurping the party and state power and changing the character of our revolutionary political power? Now let us listen to what Lenin said in this connection:

"The people need a republic. It is needed to educate the masses in realizing democracy. All we need is not only democratic representations, but also institutions in which the masses themselves can manage all state organs

from bottom levels up, and are allowed to practically participate in all public activities and play an active role in the management of their country." "Only by following this road can we give our country the maximum guarantee to prevent the restoration of monarchy and to systematically and firmly move it toward socialism."

Our personal experiences and lessons bear witness to Lenin's following judgment: if the democratic revolution is not thoroughly carried out in a country with a large peasant population, the socialist system will not emerge; political democratization is the only path to prevent the degeneration of political power and to protect the fruits of victory. Does this mean that every problem can be resolved through the implementation of the democracy of all the people? Certainly not. Stalin said: "We should look for ideals from the history of the development of the productive forces rather than from our own heads." The society in which we live resulted from the development of the productive forces. The people's democracy in a true sense cannot be realized if the productive forces are not developed to radically change the poverty of the people's material and cultural life. Marxism holds that the development of the productive forces is a prerequisite for transforming the social system; the process of firmly establishing a new social system is one which can be completed only by the development of the productive forces. Since the development of the productive forces is a cumulative, step-by-step process, a new system cannot be built in a day. The completion of the Chinese democratic revolution and socialist construction is a long, constant process which advances through the development of the productive forces.

A restudy of classical Marxist works and a review of the course traversed by the Chinese revolutionaries showed that in an agricultural country dominated by the old-line capitalist economy, after seizing political power, the proletariat has two parallel and mutually complementary tasks to perform: (1) concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, and apply the modern methods of mass production to fundamentally transform the backward, primitive practices of small production and to change the balance of class forces, and (2) continue the democratic revolution, and implement the democratic political system step-by-step so that the degeneration of the political power can be prevented and the people can truly dictate their own destiny. The first fundamental task is a prerequisite for accomplishing the second. However, if the second task cannot be successfully carried out, it will have a tremendous, adverse impact on the first, and even cause it to collapse." Therefore, socialism can truly be built only after the two tasks are successfully carried out.

Today, we must race against time for the realization of the four modernizations. At this most crucial moment, we must bring into full play the positive role and wisdom of the 900 million people (mostly peasants) so that no force in the world can prevent the working people from dictating their own destiny. The realization of the four modernizations means eliminating all feudal remnants, and truly promoting socialist democracy.

Politics is a concentrated expression of economics. The economic development not only creates conditions for political reforms, but more importantly, gives constant impetus to such reforms. It also plays a role in inspiring and supporting the proletariat to carry on the great cause of the democratic revolution. We firmly believe that the vast numbers of peasants who have been subjected to the cruel oppression of the exploiting classes are willing to accept the leadership and education provided by the proletariat in order to bring the democratic revolution to complete success. As the productive forces develop, we must always uphold the proletarian political leadership, go all out to promote education in democracy, and create conditions so that the people can receive training in the democratic way of life. Only thus can we resolutely struggle against all traditional forces which stand in the way of the people's democracy, eliminate the remnants of the feudal patriarchal system and the imperial power mentality, systematically and gradually step up the democratization of the political system, and make our socialist cause advance smoothly.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QINGDAO SPARETIME SCHOOLS THREATENED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by our own reporter: "Five Vocational Sparetime schools in Qingdao are facing the danger of Being Strangled to Death[]

[Text] Sparetime vocational education in Qingdao municipality has had a history of nearly 30 years. Five districts in Qingdao originally constituted five distinct vocational sparetime schools. Just in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution, they had trained more than 167,000 students. During the Cultural Revolution, because of savage disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the vocational sparetime schools of Qingdao Municipality suffered serious damage, and schools in the five districts were forced to close down. However, because the school personnel's high sense of responsibility, as early as 1972, in the face of violent turmoil they resumed classes. After smashing the "gang of four," all businesses and professions as well as vocational education were liberated. From 1972 to 1978, the schools again trained more than 52,000 persons. Many of the students became the backbone of production, and some of them were promoted as engineers and technicians. At present, there are more than 22,000 students in schools. However, who could have imagined that since this year, the Education Bureau of Qingdao could have set up so many obstacles for these five district schools, so that again they are faced with the danger of being strangled to death!

The Qingdao Municipal Education Bureau states: "District schools are run on too large a scale. If we run them on such a large scale, then factories will not run schools; yet we must urge factories to run schools! Qingdao's traditional mode of operation has always been that both factories and districts run schools, and for 30 years this tradition has never been neglected. In fact, students enrolled in the school districts are merely 5 percent of all city employees, so how can they effect factory-run schools? Nevertheless, the Qingdao Municipal Education Bureau made many improper decisions:

1. It does not allow district schools to run institutes of higher learning and technical schools. It only allows them to run cultural classes in junior and senior middle schools.

In 1958, because students' learning ability improved and in order to meet the needs for development, district school started to run institutes of higher learning and technical schools. By now they have had a 20 year history. Shouldn't we raise the level now instead of going back to the level of 1958?

2. It does not allow them to enroll students from factories and mining industries which are run by the city. It only allows them to enroll students from factories which are run by the district. At present, most of the factories and enterprises in the Qingdao area have been put under city administration. There are only three or four small factories in each district, and the total number of employees is merely around 1,000. If one acts according to the stipulations, the situation will be such that the district school will not have enough students, and employees of city-run enterprises will have nowhere to go.

3. It does not allow full-time teachers of middle schools to hold part-time jobs in district schools. If they do, besides docking their income from part-time teaching, they do not evaluate their wages or progress, and do not issue hardship subsidies, and moreover subject them to mass criticism.

Originally, there are not many full-time teachers in district schools. A large portion of the teaching force must rely on part-time teachers. In May of this year, district schools sent contracts and lists of part-time teachers to the city bureau. By the first 10 days of September, except for the Southern district schools that approved 13 teachers, there was no response. District schools requested instructions from the city bureau, and the city bureau replied that the number of classes will depend on how many teachers they have. However, the city bureau has not increased the number of teachers for a long time. At present, all full-time teachers average around 50 years of age, and most of them are old, weak, sick and disabled. In addition to retired teachers, there are only very few teachers who are able to teach classes. Take the Taidong district schools as an example: of the 33 person teaching and administrative staff, there are only seven or eight who are able to teach. Because schools are soon going to open, each district school has no choice but to cut some classes.

4. They do not allow borrowing of classrooms. For more than 20 years, district schools' classrooms have borrowed full-time schools' classrooms free of charge. In April of this year, the city Education Bureau stipulated that key schools cannot loan their classrooms to other schools. At schools where loaning of classrooms is permitted, for each classroom they must pay 5 dollars rental fee. In some district schools, the education bureau has stipulated 20 dollars rental fee.

5. It has not resolved how to manage school funds.

In the past, all tuition fees collected by district schools were remitted to the city Education Bureau. All expenses were also taken care of by the city bureau. This year, the city bureau has stipulated that district school bureaus are responsible for the expenses of district schools. The district school bureau has little funds, and thus the problem of administrative expenses,

part-time teachers' salaries and purchase funds, etc. cannot be solved. And at the beginning of this year, 100,000 dollars that were exclusively allocated to these five district schools from the Provincial Education Bureau were deducted by the city Education Bureau.

We should like to ask if a school has no teachers, no students, no classrooms, and no funds, how can it be a school? How can those enthusiastic comrades who have engaged in vocational education for more than 20 years not be bitterly disappointed? In realizing the Four Modernizations, education is the basis, and scientific technology is the key. Do we still want to achieve the Four Modernizations? Shall we bring every positive factor into play or shall we all at once strangle vocational sparetime education to death? Some part-time teachers also felt dissatisfied: Is there anything wrong with making use of our sparetime to educate few talented students? Some students are afraid that district schools are going to collapse, and are afraid that they will be unable to attend school, and thus they became ideologically confused.

We implore the proper authorities to immediately solve Qingdao's vocational education problems. We wish that these five vocational sparetime schools will continue their glorious tradition and will get better and better on the road of new long march.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON ACADEMICIANS

[The following biographic information on selected academicians, educators and college/university officials was extracted from various Chinese-language newspapers as indicated in parentheses at the end of each item.]

Cai Qirui [5591 0796 3843], Prof.

Vice President of Xiamen University. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 2 Nov 79 p 8)

Gong Mu [0361 2606]

Vice President of Jilin University; concurrently chairman of Department of Chinese Literature at this university. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 6 Nov 79 p 5)

Huang Huanqiu [7806 3562 4428]

Vice President of Zhongshan University. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 7 Nov 79 p 7)

Huang Shouqi [7806 1108 4388], Prof.

Vice President of Fujian Teachers University; chairman of Department of Chinese Literature at this university; member of the Standing Committee of Fujian Provincial People's Consultative Committee; president of the Fujian Provincial Linguistic Society. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 12 Dec 79 p 7)

Jiang Zehong [3068 3419 1347]

Deputy Director of Institute of World Economy, Fudan University (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 12 Nov 79 p 2)

Lin Yuan [2651 6678]

Vice President of Shanghai Teachers University. (Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO 10 Oct 79 p 1)

Qian Linzhao [6929 5259 3564]

Noted physicist; was appointed vice president of China University of Science and Technology in 1978. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 25 Nov 79 p 1)

Tang Zhongzhang [0781 0112 3864], Prof.

Vice President of Xiamen University. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 2 Nov 79 p 8)

Tong Binggang [4547 4426 0474], Associate Professor

Vice Chairman, Department of Modern Physics, China University of Science and Technology. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 25 Nov 79 p 1)

Xiao Lu [5135 7627]

Vice president of Tianjin Agricultural College; also deputy secretary of the CCP Committee at this college. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 29 Nov 79 p 2)

Xu Zhilun [1776 5347 4858], Prof.

Vice President, East China College of Water Conservancy. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 25 Oct 79 p 3)

Yang Chengzong [2799 2110 1350]

Noted radiochemist; was appointed vice president of China University of Science and Technology in 1978. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 25 Nov 79 p 1)

Yang Haibo [2799 3189 3134]

Vice President of China University of Science and Technology; also secretary of the CCP Committee of the university. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 16 Nov 79 p 1)

Yang Yanming [2799 5888 2490]

Professor, Department of Modern Physics, China University of Science and Technology. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 25 Nov 79 p 10)

Yuan Yunkai [5913 6663 7030], Associate Professor

A 49-year old physicist who was recently appointed a vice president of Shanghai Teachers University. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 20 Nov 79 p 7)

Zhang Hongda [1728 1347 6671], Prof.

Chairman, Department of Biology, Zhongshan University. (Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN 7 Nov 79 p 1)

Zhu Zhenghua [2612 2973 5478]

Vice President of Shanghai College of Chemical Engineering. (Shanghai
JIEFANG RIBAO 7 Dec 79 p 2)

Zhuo Ping [0587 5493]

Vice President of Shanghai Teachers University. (Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO
10 Oct 79 p 1)

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